

## Bilingualism against Diglossia in the French Royal Chancery in the Late Middle Ages

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The article is devoted to the analysis of the use of Latin and vernacular languages in the French royal chancery during the Late Middle Ages. The language played an important role in constructing and strengthening the State. The idea of the unification of language went hand in hand with the idea of political unification. In France, the most important stage in the transition from Latin to the vernacular language was the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The first examples of the use of the vernacular language in the work of the chancery emerged on the periphery. The transition from Latin to French was not instantaneous, but took place in several phases. It should be noted that the ratio of languages was uneven in various areas of office work, and also depended on the region to which the charter was related. In this regard, many researchers propose to speak not about bilingualism, but about diglossia. Conceding with the validity of this remark, it is possible to complete this picture with several documents. In the collection of Nikolai Petrovich Likhachev (1862–1936) there is the charter of King John II (1352), the protocol and eschatocol of which are written in Latin, and the main part — in French. An analysis of this document shows how closely Latin and French coexisted in the documents of the royal chancery of France in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It dissolves the boundaries between the niches occupied by one or the other language. Therefore, it seems not always correct to talk about diglossia.

**Keywords:** bilingualism, diglossia, chancery, Latin, French, N. P. Likhachev.

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## Билингвизм против диглоссии во французской королевской канцелярии в Позднее Средневековье

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Статья посвящена анализу использования латинского и вернакулярных языков во французской королевской канцелярии в период Позднего Средневековья. Язык играл важную роль в конструировании и усилении государства. Идея языковой унификации шла рука об руку с идеей политической унификации. Для Франции важнейшим в переходе от латыни к французскому языку стал XIV в. В области делопроизводства первые примеры использования французского языка возникли на периферии. В королевской канцелярии переход от латыни к французскому не был одномоментным, а проходил постепенно. Первая фаза началась с правлением Людовика IX Святого, при котором появились первые документы. Затем французский язык усиливал свои позиции вплоть до прихода к власти короля Иоанна II Доброго. Его правление ознаменовало собой вторую фазу, в течение которой произошел возврат к латыни. В последующие годы количество грамот на французском языке неуклонно увеличивалось, хотя в Средние века и раннее Новое время королевская канцелярия так и не стала полностью франкоязычной. Следует отметить, что соотношение языков было неравномерно в различных сферах делопроизводства, а также зависело от региона, к которому относилась грамота. В связи с этим многие исследователи предлагают говорить не о билингвизме, а о диглоссии. Сохранилось несколько документов, которые могут позволить дополнить имеющуюся картину. В собрании Николая Петровича Лихачева (1862–1936) в Научно-историческом архиве Санкт-Петербургского института истории РАН находится грамота короля Иоанна II Доброго (1352), протокол и эсхатокол которой написаны по-латыни, а основная часть — на французском. Анализ этого документа показывает, насколько тесно сосуществовали латынь и французский в документах королевской канцелярии Франции в XIV в. Следовательно, представляется не всегда корректным говорить о диглоссии.

*Ключевые слова:* билингвизм, диглоссия, канцелярия, латынь, французский язык, Н. П. Лихачев.

The 14<sup>th</sup> century has become a kind of a frontier in French history. Among other changes, at the beginning of the century people in France wrote almost entirely in Latin, and by the end of the century had switched to French. This transition marks a profound shift in the social and political structures. The process was complex and still gives rise to controversy among researchers. The discussion is stimulated by the fact that the language represented not only a tool of communication, but also an instrument of power and development of the State. Some researchers have emphasized that the processes of language development and state development were interrelated and supported each other: state structures enabled the vernacular language to grow in strength, which in turn imparted greater integrity to the State<sup>1</sup>. The idea of linguistic unification went hand in

<sup>1</sup> *Marchello-Nizia Chr. Production littéraire, politique linguistique et pouvoir d'État au XIIe siècle dans les pays de langue française // Culture et idéologie dans la genèse de l'État moderne. Actes de la table ronde de Rome (15–17 octobre 1984). Rome, 1985. P. 199–210; Rouget Fr. La langue française : obstacle ou atout de l'État-nation? // Renaissance et Réforme. 2005. Vol. XXIX. Pt. 1. P. 8.*

hand with the idea of political unification and the rise of king's power<sup>2</sup>. Since the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century in France the awareness of the necessity for people speaking the same language to live under the same power had been increasing. Military conflicts were accompanied by language controversy, and the fact that population of a given territory spoke French could easily become a pretext for annexation. For example, in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century herald Berry remarked that Burgundy and Savoy were the lands of the Empire with the French language spoken there. Therefore, these territories must be returned to France<sup>3</sup>.

Evidently, the idea of the nexus between the language and the State met criticism. Colette Beaune emphasizes that under Charles V and Charles VII royal power did not pursue a focused linguistic policy<sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless, the language played an important role in the transition from medieval political forms to the Modern state (État moderne)<sup>5</sup>. These relationships are complex, but no less complicated is the process of transfer from one language to the other. In the Archives of St. Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences, in the process of preparation for the edition the charters of French Kings, there was discovered a document that combined the two languages in a rather unusual way. In order to discuss this case, it is necessary to outline the general process of transition from Latin, the universal language of the Middle Ages, to vernacular languages, and then turn to detailed analysis of the charter.

### From Latin to French: a brief sketch

In the field of diplomatics, the first examples of the use of vernacular languages can be found not in the heart of the French kingdom, but on the periphery. At the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, first charters in Provençal language appeared<sup>6</sup>. In the north, we find the first examples in England: the charter of Rolf FitzWalter from Sherington in favor of the Order of Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem dated 1140 was written in Anglo-Normand<sup>7</sup>. On the continent, the first preserved charter was written in Chièvres (County of Hainaut) in 1194<sup>8</sup>. Gradually, other regions of the kingdom began to be included in the process<sup>9</sup>. It is interesting to note that it was not the kings who started to write in vernacular languages. In the French royal chancery, the transition from Latin to French

<sup>2</sup> *Clanchy M.* Literacy, Law, and the Power of the State // Culture et idéologie dans la genèse de l'État moderne. Actes de la table ronde de Rome (15–17 octobre 1984). Rome, 1985. P. 25–34; *Lusignan S.*: 1) L'administration royale et la langue française aux XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles // The Dawn of the Written Vernacular in the Western Europe / eds M. Goyens, W. Verbeke. Leuven, 2003. P. 52; 2) La résistible ascension du vulgaire: persistance du latin et latinisation du français dans les chancelleries de France et d'Angleterre à la fin du Moyen Âge // Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen-Âge. 2005. T. 117, No. 2. P. 488–489.

<sup>3</sup> *Beaune C.* Naissance de la nation France. Paris, 1991. P. 298.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* P. 296.

<sup>5</sup> L'État moderne : genèse. Bilan et perspectives. Actes du Colloque tenu au CNRS à Paris les 19–20 septembre 1989 / éd. par J.-Ph. Genet. Paris, 1990. P. 270–271 ; La genèse de l'État moderne. Culture et société politique en Angleterre / sous la dir. de J.-Ph. Genet. Paris, 2003. P. 139–167.

<sup>6</sup> *Brunel C.* Les plus anciennes chartes en langue provençale. Recueil des pièces originales antérieures au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, publiées avec une étude morphologique. Paris, 1926.

<sup>7</sup> *Duval Fr. et al.* Le français médiéval. P. 62–63.

<sup>8</sup> *Arnould M. A.* Le plus ancien acte en langue d'oïl : la charte-loi de Chièvres (1194) // Hommage au professeur Paul Bonenfant (1899–1965). Bruxelles, 1965. P. 85–118.

<sup>9</sup> *Carolus-Barre L.* Les plus anciennes chartes en langue française. T. I : Problèmes généraux et recueil des pièces originales conservées aux Archives de l'Oise (1241–1286). Paris, 1964.

was not instantaneous, but occurred in several phases<sup>10</sup>. The first document in French was registered during the reign of Saint Louis in 1241<sup>11</sup>. Then the vernacular language began to assert its position, but very cautiously. The probing of the registers of *Trésor des Chartes* conducted by Serge Lusignan revealed a radical change which occurred under the rule of Philip VI: while in 1328 there were 156 Latin acts against 44 French, in 1349–50 the ratio changed to 34 to 166<sup>12</sup>. The reign of John II the Good signified the period of revision of overly rapid changes: the royal office returned completely to Latin. It might have been due to better education of John II in comparison to Philip VI<sup>13</sup>, or due to Italian influence on the French Chancery<sup>14</sup>. It is worth mentioning here that the level of education of the royal administration itself was traditionally high, and were unlikely to have difficulties because of using Latin<sup>15</sup>. The capture of John II the Good in the Battle of Poitiers (September 10, 1356) during the Hundred Years War marked the beginning of a stable and consistent ousting of Latin from the French Royal Chancery.

It should be noted, however, that in different areas the ratio of languages was uneven and also depended on the region to which the charter was related. For instance, in the register of 1328 Latin occupied a dominant position in relation to the Occitan cities<sup>16</sup>. The analysis of Odart Morchesne's *formulaire* unveiled that the choice of language was directly dependent on the contents of the act. Under Charles V, French dominated letters of remission (*lettre de rémission*), while other acts were in French only by 30–40 %<sup>17</sup>. *Sauf-conduit* as well were almost always composed in French as it was designed to be presented to passage controlling officials who were not always experts in Latin. The choice of language in letters of appointment depended on whether the candidate belonged to the educated, the so-called *lettré*, or to the uneducated stratum. So, notaries, clerks and councilors who had a university degree were appointed to a post in Latin, while secular councilors without a

<sup>10</sup> Tessier G. *Diplomatique royale française*. Paris, 1962. P.239–240.

<sup>11</sup> For a long time, it was accepted by historiography that the first document in French was the charter of 1254 (Carolus-Barré L. *L'apparition de la langue française dans les actes de l'administration royale // Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*. An. 1976. P. 148–155), but Paul Videsott proposed another point of view; *Videsott P. À propos du plus ancien document en français de la chancellerie royale capétienne (1241) // Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*. 2010. T. 168. Livr. 1. P. 61–81. — For general list see: *Frank B., Hartmann J., Kürschner H. Inventaire systématique des premiers documents des langues romanes*. Tübingen, 1997. — Bibliography by region, see: *Dees A. Atlas des formes et des constructions des chartes françaises du 13e siècle*. Tübingen, 1980. P.299–306.

<sup>12</sup> *Lusignan S. Quelques remarques sur les langues écrites à la chancellerie royale de France // Écrits et pouvoir dans les chancelleries médiévales: espace français, espace anglais / sous la dir. de K. Fianu et D. Guth*. Turnhout, 1997. P.102–103. — For the earlier period see: *Videsott P. À propos du plus ancien document*. P.66, 68.

<sup>13</sup> *Lusignan S. La langue des rois au Moyen Âge. Le français en France et en Angleterre*. Paris, 2004. P. 125.

<sup>14</sup> *Grévin B. L'influence des modèles italiens du XIIIe siècle sur le style de la chancellerie royale et des chancelleries princières françaises aux XIVe et XVe siècles // "De part et d'autre des Alpes" (II): chancelleries et chanceliers des princes à la fin du Moyen Âge; actes de la table ronde de Chambéry, 5 et 6 octobre 2006 / sous la dir. de G. Castelnovo et O. Mattéoni*. Chambéry, 2011. P. 118–119.

<sup>15</sup> *Tsaturova S. K. Formirovanie instituta gosudarstvennoj sluzhby vo Francii XIII–XV vekov*. Moscow, 2012. P. 302–304, 578–581.

<sup>16</sup> *Lusignan S. Quelques remarques sur les langues écrites*. P. 105.

<sup>17</sup> *François M. Note sur les lettres de rémission transcrites dans les registres du trésor des chartes // Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*. 1942. T. 103. P. 317–324.

diploma — in French<sup>18</sup>. This indicates that Latin and French were not only complemented each other harmoniously, but also occupied different niches. S. Lusignan concludes that in this context it is more correct to speak not about bilingualism, but about diglossia since Latin and French did not simply cohabitate in one territory, but existed in different spheres of everyday life<sup>19</sup>.

The strengthening position of vernacular languages would not have been possible without the change of attitude towards them. Vernacular languages needed deployment and legitimization in the eyes of society as the language of culture and science. From the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries, literature in French and Occitan was extremely widespread in France. The latter in particular became a manifestation of the secular nobility's self-consciousness, which by means of the Occitan language, opposed itself to the church nobility and its main means of self-expression — Latin<sup>20</sup>. The wave of translations from Latin into French swept in the 14<sup>th</sup> century demonstrating that translating works to the vernacular language was not only possible but also rather useful<sup>21</sup>. It can be concluded that the translations were made solely for the sake of widening the audience. However, this obvious conclusion is sometimes misleading. Firstly, medieval authors who wrote in the vernacular language appealed to a wider audience only among their compatriots, but lost readers in other countries, while Latin knew no boundaries. Secondly, a specific approach typical of the medieval authors can be identified here: references to the Latin original were often called upon to attach greater importance to the author's work as innovations were little appreciated by medieval man<sup>22</sup>.

Along with the admission of the French language in literature, a revision of attitudes towards French as a language of science took place in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In defense of French, Nicolas Oresme provided the following argument: the Romans spoke Latin, which was their native language. Therefore, nothing could prevent France from discussing science in its native language as well. Oresme's idea of *translatio studii*, which demonstrated the succession between cultural epochs and the transfer of science leadership from Greece to Rome and then to France, became the main support in the development of the French language<sup>23</sup>. Moreover, French began to be considered more honorable than English or German, as it grew from a single root, unlike English or German, which had a mixed origin and were consequently less pure in their basis<sup>24</sup>.

The opposition between Latin and vernacular languages dominates the work of many researchers, both philologists and historians. But have the spheres of use of Latin and the vernacular language always been demarcated rigidly?

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<sup>18</sup> Le formulaire d'Odart Morchesne dans la version du ms BnF fr. 5024 / eds O. Guyotjeannin, S. Lusignan. Paris, 2005. P. 44–45.

<sup>19</sup> Lusignan S.: 1) Parler vulgairement. P. 83; 2) Langues du roi et langues des sujets en France et en Angleterre : identité et communication // Brun-Trigaud G. (dir.) *Contacts, conflits et créations linguistiques*. Paris, 2015. P. 173–190. — Similar observations were made for England: Bakaldina Ye. V. Trilingvizm v Anglii XV v. (na materiale reglamenta "Chernaya kniga Eduarda IV") // Vestnik of Saint Petersburg University. History. 2009. Seria 2. Vyp. 3. P. 157–163. — In general: Richter M. Kommunikationsprobleme im lateinischen Mittelalter // Historische Zeitschrift. 1976. Bd. 222. H. 1. P. 73–74.

<sup>20</sup> Duval Fr. et al. Le français médiéval. Turnhout, 2009. P. 55.

<sup>21</sup> Lusignan S. Parler vulgairement. Les intellectuels et la langue française aux XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Paris; Montréal, 1986. P. 129–171.

<sup>22</sup> Clanchy M. T. From memory to written record. England, 1066–1307. Cambridge, 1979. P. 157.

<sup>23</sup> Piron S. Nicole Oresme : violence, langage et raison politique. Florence, 1997. P. 9.

<sup>24</sup> Beaune C. Naissance de la nation France. P. 295.

## Charter of King of France John II the Good: coexistence of Latin and French

Among the documents in the collection of academician N.P. Likhachev (1862–1936)<sup>25</sup> from the Scientific Historical Archives of Saint Petersburg Institute of History of Russian Academy of Sciences, I encountered a letter, which has no analogues among the documents described by Serge Lusignan: the protocol and the eschatocol of charters were composed in Latin, whereas the central part of the text was written in French. S. Lusignan recorded many cases of convergence of Latin and French (sometimes Occitan), but they differ from the charter in question. There are cases in the registries of *Trésor des Chartes* when one charter confirms another or even several earlier-issued documents. Moreover, in the text of the “authorizing” charter the previous ones are presented in full, and even dorsal notes are often reproduced<sup>26</sup>. The combination of Latin and Vernacular in those documents is attributed to the fact that charters refer to the different periods of the dominance of the language. Each of the charters is a full-fledged charter with all the necessary attributes that impart legal force to the documents: *intitulatio*<sup>27</sup> and others. Unlike these examples, a characteristic feature of the document under discussion is its complete unity and cohesion. One part of the letter does not exist without the other: the Latin part has no content, and the French one has no legal force. How could such a situation have occurred, and what circumstances led to the creation of this document? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to describe the document and its historical context.

Judging by the appearance of the charter and dorsal notes, the charter was not a draft or a damaged copy preserved by chance. The charter is written on a parchment with light-brown ink. The size of the charter is 26 cm by 17 cm, including the width of plica<sup>28</sup>. The design of the charter is modest: the only decoration is the first letter drawn with a quill and supplemented with several decorative elements. The first argument in favor of the fact that this document is an original one is that the charter was sealed, which contributed to its legitimacy: plica was obviously pressed continuously to the main part of the sheet using the double tail to which the seal was attached, enabling this part of the parchment

<sup>25</sup> The charter was bought by N. P. Likhachev through Noël Charavay's antiques with whom Likhachev had close contacts for many years. It follows from the inscription made by Likhachev himself on the folder, in which the charter is kept: “N[oël] Char[avay] vente 23 mai 1914”. The provenance is proved by comparison with catalogue of the auction organized by Noël Charavay on 23 May 1914 (Catalogue d'une précieuse reunion de lettres autographes... dont la vente aura lieu à Paris le Samedi 23 Mai 1914. Paris, [1914]. P. 19. № 79). For the Charavay family see: David P. Inventaire de la sous-série AB XXXVIII des Archives Nationales: Collection des catalogues de vente d'autographes et livres anciens imprimés des libraires et des salles des ventes. Paris, 2003–2005. P. 22–23. — For the Likhachev's collection see: Iz kollektsii akademika N. P. Likhacheva: katalog vystavki. St. Petersburg, 1993; “Zvuchat lish pis'mena...”: K 150-letiju so dnja rođenija akademika Nicolaja Petrovitcha Likhacheva. St. Petersburg, 2012.

<sup>26</sup> As an example, we can cite the letter of King Louis XI in favor of Philippe de Commines: Nosova E. Chartes et lettres inédites de Louis XI (1461–1483) aux Archives de l'Institut d'histoire de Saint-Petersbourg // Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France. An. 2014. P. 41–68; Nosova E. I. Autographs of French Kings from the collection of Nikolay Likhachev // Vestnik of Saint Petersburg University. History. 2018. Vol. 63, iss. 2. P. 432–446.

<sup>27</sup> Part of the text of charter which specifies the titles and qualities (real or supposed) of the author of the act. La titulature // Vocabulaire international de la diplomatie. URL: <http://www.cei.lmu.de/VID/VID.php> (accessed: 03.12.2018).

<sup>28</sup> Plica is a reinforcement of the lower part of the support obtained by simple folding, through which the seal was usually attached. Plica // Vocabulaire international de la diplomatie. URL: <http://www.cei.lmu.de/VID/VID.php> (accessed: 03.12.2018).



to remain clean. Secondly, on plica itself there are notes “lecta” and “accordium” (“read” and “agreed”). Thirdly, the document was obviously kept in the archive for considerable amount of time, as evidenced by two designations of a date and a resumé on the charter’s back dated ca. 14<sup>th</sup> century. They are similar to those found on the charter’s reverses stored today in the National Archives of France<sup>29</sup> and in the Archives of Aisne Department<sup>30</sup>. Prior to the Great French Revolution, these documents were stored in the archives of Laon Cathedral<sup>31</sup>. This suggests that the charter was sent to archives of Laon cathedral shortly after being issued and was kept there for some time. It may be anticipated that in the turmoil caused by the French Revolution it ended up on antique market like the majority of French ecclesiastical archives<sup>32</sup>. However, most of the charters from Paris and Laon also have more recent dorsal notes which indicate that documents were stored in the archives in modern times. There are no such notes on the document from St. Petersburg, which suggests that this charter most likely left the archive of the cathedral not during the Revolution, but earlier. In other words, it can be concluded that this document was completed; it was legally valid and was archived as being of interest to future generations.

The document was drawn up on behalf of the King of France, John II the Good (1352). The sovereign informs all his subjects that Provost of Laon violated the ancient right of the dean and the chapter of Cathedral of Notre Dame in Laon, and arrested a man named Jean le Car who belonged to a household of Ponce de Mirabel, canon of Cathedral of Notre Dame. The dean and the chapter appealed to the king during the visiting session of the Paris Parliament in Vermandois. The royal prosecutor ordered that the arrested Jean le Car should be handed over to Ponce de Mirabel and to the chapter for justice.

The conflict that had caused the charter stemmed from the long development of relations within the city. Traditionally, Laon was the stage of competition between the bishop, chapter of the cathedral and the commune. Strong positions of Laon were formed in the early Middle Ages thanks to the efforts of Saint Remigius (437–533). So, on the one hand, Laon was one of the favorite places of residence of the Carolingian monarchs, and on the other hand — the residence of the bishop. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century Laon was called the capital of Carolingian France with full confidence. The House of Capet paid less attention to Laon, preferring Paris. This led to the fact that the royal power here began to weaken, and the bishops came to the fore. The Chair in Laon was of special importance under Adalberon of Laon (977–1030), whose help to Hugh Capet in the struggle for the throne was valuable.

The development of the communal movement had brought a new force to the forefront of political life — the urban elites, who defended their rights by any methods. In 1111, the French king Louis VI confirmed the privileges of Laon. A year later, however, the bishop, in an effort to protect his power over the city, paid the king 700 livres parisis in order to rescind his decision. Moreover, the bishop wished to compensate his discharge at the expense of the citizens, forcing them to make new payments to the bishop’s treasury. The outraged townspeople revolted: they took the bishop’s palace by assault and killed

<sup>29</sup> Archives Nationales (AN). L 734. No. 29.

<sup>30</sup> Archives départementales de l’Aisne. G 126. № 5; Ibid. G 127. № 1–3.

<sup>31</sup> Guerout J. Série L. Monuments ecclésiastiques / Archives nationales de France. URL: [http://www.archivesnationales.culture.gouv.fr/chan/chan/fonds/EGF/SA/SAPDF/egfn\\_l.pdf](http://www.archivesnationales.culture.gouv.fr/chan/chan/fonds/EGF/SA/SAPDF/egfn_l.pdf) (accessed: 03.12.2018).

<sup>32</sup> De La Ferrière H. Deux années de mission à Saint-Petersbourg: manuscrits, lettres et documents historiques sortis de France en 1789. Paris, 1867; De Laferrière-Percy H. La Normandie à l’étranger // Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 1875. T. 7. P. 210–233; Nortier M. Le sort des archives dispersées de la Chambre des Comptes de Paris // Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes. 1965. T. 123. P. 472.

Bishop Gaudry. This conflict was described in detail by Guibert de Nogent. A new bishop Barthélemy de Jur was sent to reconcile the city and reassured the townspeople. However, in 1128 King Louis VI had to reestablish a commune of Laon. His charter “*Institutio pacis*”<sup>33</sup> became the main document regulating relations in the city for many years<sup>34</sup>. At the same time, this document laid the foundation for contradictions as it did not clearly define who belonged to the category of citizens and fell under urban jurisdiction<sup>35</sup>.

The conflict between the bishop and the commune was aggravated by the intervention of the chapter. The position of the chapter became stronger in 1261–65, when Urban IV, who, as a former member and then the archdeacon of Laon’s cathedral, fully supported the chapter. Thus, on May 13, 1264, he issued a bull, according to which the dean was entrusted with the care of the souls of the canons and their household members<sup>36</sup>. By 1270, the chapter of the Cathedral of Laon was the largest in France (83 pers. before 1388 and 82 pers. after 1388), surpassing the chapters of the Notre-Dame de Paris and the Cathedral of Reims<sup>37</sup>.

In 1237, the residence of bailiff Vermandois moved to Laon, and the city strengthened its position as an administrative center<sup>38</sup>. In 1295, a new uprising broke out in Laon. The reaction of the bishop was to impose an interdict on Laon, which was supported by Pope Boniface VIII. King Philip IV of France also said his word in the conflict: he condemned everybody who attacked the cathedral and revoked the privileges granted to the city earlier<sup>39</sup>. However, in 1297, he restored the commune<sup>40</sup>.

Liquidation and subsequent revival of the city self-governance in no way contributed to the solution of the problems accumulated over the past years. Conflicts erupted more and more frequently, usually caused by jurisdiction. The year 1319 was marked by a new conflict. In 1321, Philip V destroyed the commune again, and his successor King Charles IV confirmed this act a year later. In 1329, the dean and the chapter provided a long list of obstacles made by the commune<sup>41</sup>. Thus, the chapter clearly and unambiguously opposed the city. The anti-communal position was also taken by the bishop. Therefore, it is not surprising that when Philip VI expressed his intention to restore the privileges of the city in 1329, the bishop and the chapter forgot their differences and joined forces to prevent the restoration of commune. Together they paid the king 20 000 livres tournois<sup>42</sup>. In 1331, Philip VI issued a series of charters known in French historiography as “*philippines*”, which finally destroyed the commune of Laon and established a new balance of power in the city<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> Recueil des actes de Louis VI roi de France (1108–1137) / ed. J. Dufour. Vol. II. Paris, 1992. P. 88–96.

<sup>34</sup> *Saint-Denis A.* Apogée d’une cité. Laon et le Laonnois aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Nancy, 1994. P. 259.

<sup>35</sup> *Baudot J.-L.* La Commune de Laon: organisation et fonctionnement d’une institution médiévale (1128–1331) // Société historique de Haute-Picardie. Vol. 44. P. 119–120.

<sup>36</sup> Les registres d’Urban IV (1261–1264) / éd. J. Guiraud. Vol. II. Paris, 1901. P. 309. No. 644.

<sup>37</sup> *Millet H.* Les chanoines du chapitre cathédral de Laon, 1272–1412. Rome, 1982. P. 34.

<sup>38</sup> *Jorrand J. P.* Laon // Revue archéologique de Picardie. 1999. Numéro special, 16. P. 62.

<sup>39</sup> *Denton J.* The second uprising at Laon and its aftermath, 1295–98 // Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester. 1990. Vol. 72, No. 3. P. 79–92.

<sup>40</sup> Documents sur les relations de la royauté avec les villes en France de 1180 à 1314 / éd. by A. Giry. Genève, 1885. P. 147–149.

<sup>41</sup> AN. L 734. No. 21.

<sup>42</sup> AN. L 734. No. 29.

<sup>43</sup> *Melleville M.* Histoire de Laon et de ses institutions civiles. Vol. 1. Laon; Paris, 1846. P. 386–387.



The competition between secular and spiritual authorities in the city, the destruction and restoration of the city's privileges, the coexistence of two strong representatives of the Church and other facts from the history of Laon contributed to the formation of a very confusing relationship in the city. Every attempt to make them more transparent often had the opposite effect. Despite Philip VI's charters, Laon continued to live within a traditional system of relationships. Charter of King John the Good confirms it. The dean and the chapter refer in the text of the charter to their right to judge their family members, which they have had since very old times<sup>44</sup>. Which act do they refer to? They could have appealed to bull of Urban IV (1264). On the other hand, appealing to antiquity is a common place in medieval rhetoric, so they could have meant ordinance of 1331. According to them, prévôt got the right of jurisdiction inside the city borders. It was possible to appeal against his decisions to the bailiff of Vermandois. The chapter and the bishop were no longer allowed to interfere in the affairs of the inhabitants<sup>45</sup>. The bishop, in turn, retained the jurisdiction over clerics and those who were arrested outside the city<sup>46</sup>. The rights of the dean and the chapter were extended to the cathedral, the cloister and the cemetery of the church. It is also emphasized that they had the right to justice in the canonical houses inside the cloister, as well as in four houses outside the cloister<sup>47</sup>. It is worth mentioning that the charter insists that the arrested person was not a native of "paiz de la cité de laon", so prévôt had no right to arrest him. What did it mean and was such a man subordinated to the prévôt of Laon? Very little is known about the persons mentioned in the charter. Ponce de Mirabel was a canon of Cathedral of Laon from 1334 to 1385<sup>48</sup>. Despite the fact that family patronage played an important role within the church, we do not see any other members of this family in Laon's chapter. It is also not clear who Jean Le Car was. He is called "familiaire" in the charter, i. e. "a close person"<sup>49</sup>. In some cases, family members of canons were allowed to live in their houses. For example, in 1411, the chapter allowed Nicolas Daniel to live in the house of his uncle canon Jean de Bucy<sup>50</sup>. Besides, canons were allowed to have servants<sup>51</sup>. Apparently, Jean Le Car belonged to one of these categories<sup>52</sup>. As for the term "Paix de la cité de Laon", it was inherited from "Institutio pacis" of 1128. It marks the borders of the "Paix de la cité de Laon": they run along the Ardon River in the south to the Breuil Forest in the north. This perimeter included the city center, where the cathedral was located, and even the suburbs with vineyards. Another interpretation is possible. Historically, Laon was divided into two parts: Cité and Bourg, which were on top of the hill, to which the so-called "lower town" at the foot of the hill was later added. According to archaeological data, from the 11<sup>th</sup> century Cité was completely surrounded by fortifications and covered an area of 22 ha. Cité and Bourg were connected by one

<sup>44</sup> "Et de ce avoient jouy et usé [5] par tel et si lonctemps qu'il n'est memoire du contraire".

<sup>45</sup> Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race / éd. L.-G. Vilevault, L. G. O. F. Bréquigny. Vol. II. Paris, 1729. P. 77–80.

<sup>46</sup> Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race. Vol. XII. Paris, 1777. P. 5.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. P. 9.

<sup>48</sup> Millet H. Les chanoines du chapitre cathédral de Laon. P. 515.

<sup>49</sup> Stumpf B. Familiaire. Dictionnaire du moyen français. Centre National de Ressources Textuelles et Lexicales. URL: <http://www.cnrtl.fr/definition/dmf/familiaire> (accessed: 11.09.2018).

<sup>50</sup> Millet H. Les chanoines du chapitre cathédral de Laon. P. 249.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. P. 256.

<sup>52</sup> On the more detailed historical context of the act and translation in Russian, see: Nosova E. I. A sud'i kto? Gramota korolya Frantsii Ioanna II Dobrogo v pol'zu kafedral'nogo sobora g. Lana (1352 g.) // *Religiya. Tserkov'. Obshchestvo*. 2018. Vyp. VII. P. 292–313.

gate in the adjacent wall<sup>53</sup>. So Cité had clear boundaries. Anyway, according to the royal ordinance of 1331, it was not the place of birth that determined the choice of jurisdiction power, but the place of arrest. In 1352, the region was affected by war. The war caused a change in Laon's topography: usually the gates of the cloister were locked in the evenings, but during the war they were left open to facilitate the city's defense<sup>54</sup>. Maybe prévôt made an arrest outside the cloister. Consequently, he did not violate the royal order. Representing of Jean Le Car as a non-native of the "paix de la Cité de Laon" and ignoring the place of arrest may indicate that prévôt had the right to arrest him, but in order to avoid a conflict with the chapter, it was decided to transfer the offender to the cathedral for justice.

The inclusion of the text in French can be explained by referring to a prototype. In most cases, a prototype containing the description of the case was used when drawing up a charter in favor of one individual or another<sup>55</sup>. Most often, they were *suppliques* in the name of the ruler with a description of the requests<sup>56</sup>. In our case, such a prototype could be a *suppliques* addressed to the Parliament or earlier judicial decisions. The text does not mention them, but according to the ordinance of 1331, decisions of prévôt were appealed to the bailiff of Vermandois.

Thus, we deal with a coherent document, yet written in two different languages, which allegedly opposed each other as social markers and identity indices. How could such a discrepancy occur? First of all, it should be noted that the Latin-French binary opposition does not describe the linguistic situation in the 14<sup>th</sup> century France in all its diversity. The first reason was the lack of a single vernacular language which would have been used throughout the Kingdom of France because of spreading of various dialects and languages coming from separate distinct territories<sup>57</sup>. Thus, Occitan was spoken in the south of France; Anglo-Norman dominated in the north; Picard, which in some cases was used as interregional, had also very strong positions. Flemish along with Picard and Walloon were spoken in the county of Flanders, formally a part of French Kingdom. The royal administration considered the linguistic diversity of their lands, compiling documentation for people in the appropriate languages<sup>58</sup>. Secondly, Latin, in turn, was not universal either. G. Ouy singled out scholarly and colloquial Latin<sup>59</sup>. Latin and French were in close interaction from the process of learning since the teaching of Medieval Latin was largely

<sup>53</sup> Jorrand J. P. Laon. P. 61–66.

<sup>54</sup> Millet H. Les chanoines du chapitre cathédral de Laon. P. 249.

<sup>55</sup> Tock B.-M., Pycke J., Guyotjeannin O. Diplomatique médiévale. Turnhout, 2006. 3<sup>e</sup> éd. P. 229–230; Tock B.-M. Auteur ou impétrant ? Réflexions sur les chartes des évêques d'Arras au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle // Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes. 1991. T. 149. Fasc. 2. P. 215–248.

<sup>56</sup> Extensive literature is devoted to the study of the process of drawing up acts of clemency and attempts to hear the "live voice" of medieval man: Suppliques et requêtes. Le gouvernement par la grâce en Occident (XII<sup>e</sup> — XV<sup>e</sup> siècle). Actes du colloque international organisé à Rome les 9, 10 et 11 novembre 1998 par l'École Française de Rome / sous la dir. d'Hélène Millet. Rome, 2003; Lalière F. La lettre de rémission entre source directe et indirecte : instrument juridique de la centralisation du pouvoir et champ de prospection pour l'historien du droit // Violence, conciliation et répression. Recherches sur l'histoire du crime, de l'Antiquité au XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle / sous la dir. d'A. Musin, X. Rousseaux et F. Vesentini. Louvain-la-Neuve, 2008. P. 21–65; Verreycken Q. Pour nous servir en l'armée: Le gouvernement et le pardon des gens de guerre sous Charles le Téméraire, duc de Bourgogne (1467–1477). Louvain-la-Neuve, 2008. P. 207–211; Gauvard Cl. "De grace especial". Crime, État et société en France à la fin du Moyen Âge. Paris, 2010. P. 66–67.

<sup>57</sup> Nouvelle histoire de la langue française / sous la dir. de J. Chaurand. Paris, 1999. P. 100.

<sup>58</sup> Duval Fr. et al. Le français médiéval. P. 39–51.

<sup>59</sup> Ouy G. Bilinguisme ou trilinguisme? Latin commun, latin savant et français aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles // État et Église dans la genèse de l'État moderne: actes du colloque organisé par le Centre national de la

based on the spoken language and the socio-cultural environment comprehensible to the students, who spoke French or dialects. This is evidenced by examples and explanations in French provided in Medieval Latin language tutorials<sup>60</sup>. Thus, practicing different vernacular languages and dialects, on the one hand, and implementing different registers of Latin, on the other, eventually eroded the contours of confrontation and softened attitudes towards less noble languages.

All the works mentioned above were based on the analysis of documents that have come down to us in writing. Meanwhile, M. Clanchy regards as an anachronism all attempts to identify one language with the whole community. But the problem cannot be solved, he believes, even if we accept the idea of complete bilingualism since not everyone in England knew French and Latin. Only educated people such as Roger Bacon could boast such knowledge<sup>61</sup>. Consequently, the text written in Latin could often be read for a wide audience in the vernacular language. Yet, there are only few cases when it can be proved. To illustrate such interchangeability of languages, Clanchy gives an example — a notarial act of homage from John Balliol to Edward I for the Scottish crown in 1292, where it was clearly indicated that the homage was pledged in French, and then his words were translated into Latin in order to record it in register in writing. When earls or barons swore the oath, their vows were not translated to Latin<sup>62</sup>. Thereby, it is not entirely correct to assess the language based on written sources alone since the choice of the language for written fixation of the text depended on the status of the person and the situation. In other terms, the coexistence of texts written in Latin, French and English in England does not yet indicate the employment of these languages in the process of everyday communication. Language proficiency depends on the individual's social status, age, lifestyle and ambitions<sup>63</sup>.

Finally, the charter in question is not the only example of the close coexistence of two languages in one document. When analyzing other royal acts from the collection of N. P. Likhachev, I also found charters where the main text was written entirely in French, yet the notes (often quite extensive) were done in Latin. For example, Charles VI charter from January 29, 1387, preserved as the 14<sup>th</sup> century copy, was compiled in French, but the collation note was made in Latin. Many similar examples can be found<sup>64</sup>.

Certainly, one case is not enough to draw any generalizing conclusions, but it enables us to make a few small remarks. The document in question cannot be seen as a deviation from tradition. It reflects the repeated persistence of King John II the Good in using Latin. It also responds to the general tendency to use Latin in documents that concern the Church. Furthermore, it shows once again how closely Latin and French coexisted in the

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recherche scientifique et la Casa de Velázquez, Madrid, 30 novembre et 1er décembre 1984 / par J.-Ph. Genet et B. Vincent. Madrid, 1986. P. 85–97.

<sup>60</sup> *Lusignan S.* Parleur vulgairement. P. 37–41. *Hunt R. W.* Oxford Grammar Masters in the Middle Ages // Oxford Studies Presented to Daniel Callus. Oxford, 1964. P. 191; *Mok Q. I. M.* Un traité médiéval de syntaxe latine en français // Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature offerts à Léon Geschiere. Amsterdam, 1975. P. 44; *Heinimann S.* L'Ars Minor de Donat traduit en ancien français // Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure. 1966. Vol. 23. P. 51.

<sup>61</sup> *Clanchy M.* From memory to Writing Record. P. 156–159.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.* P. 160.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* P. 162, 174.

<sup>64</sup> Combinations of Latin and other Vernaculars are also common. For example: *Grévin B.* L'alternance latin-sicilien dans les actes siciliens du XVe siècle: propositions d'analyse // Le Moyen Âge dans le texte. Cinq ans d'histoire textuelle au Laboratoire de médiévistique occidentale. Paris, 2016. P. 93–109.

documents of the Royal Chancery in the 14<sup>th</sup> century France: it dissolves the boundaries between the niches occupied by one language or the other. Thus, it would be fair question the reference to diglossia. Secondly, it can be assumed that it was precisely this affinity and initial interpenetration of languages that prepared the transition from Latin to French in the Royal Chancery, which was a gradual change. Thirdly, given the presence of a “proto-graph” in French, it becomes obvious that different government institutions of the French Kingdom used different languages. If we also remember that the king was not the first to initiate the introduction of the vernacular language in the office work, it is reasonable to ask the question of how thoughtful and consistent this process was on the part of the royal power. Perhaps, it is worth joining Colette Beaune in her point of view that the French royal power did not pursue a general linguistic policy in the Middle Ages.

## Appendix<sup>65</sup>

[1] Johannes, dei gracia, Francorum rex, universis presentes *letteras* inspecturis, salutem. Notum facimus *quod* a partibus infra scriptis concordatum extitit in [2] hunc modum: Comme doyen et chapitre de l'église Nostre Dame de Laon se fuissent dolus en cas de nouvellete du prevost de la cité de Laon [3] sur ce qu'il disoient que chascun de leur chanoines avoit la *juridicion* sur ses familiars qui ne sont pas nez de la paiz de la cité de [4] Laon en tous pas et se aucunes foiz avient esté pris en cas de present meffait si leur avient il esté renduz. Et de ce avoient jouy et usé [5] par tel et si lonctemps qu'il n'est memoire du contraire ou au mains par tel et si lonc temps qui souffit a possession acquerre et rete[6] nir. Nientmoins, ledit prevost de la cité avoit pris ou fait prendre de nuit par ses *sergents* Jehan le Car qu'il n'est paz nez de la paiz [7] de la cité de Laon, familiale de Ponsse de Mirabel, chanoine de ladicte eglise, et ycelui n'a volu rendre audit Ponsse, soume et requis [8] souffissamment. Et pour ce lezdis doyen et chapitre et Ponce s'en sont doluz en cas de nouvelete dudit prevost et a esté jour assigné auz [9] *partiez* aus jours de Vermendois de ce *present parlement*. Le procureur de roy, oyé la relation du procureur dou Roy du bailliage de Vermendois, [10] dudit prevost de la cité et de plusieurs autres *officiers* de Vermendois, a volu et accordé que ou cas que ledit Jehan le Car sans contrainte [11] ne se sera lié par response pardevant les gens du roy avant qu'il ait esté requis par ledit Ponce, son maistre, ou par lezdis doyen et chapitre, [12] qu'il soit renduz a sondit maistre pour faire accomplissement de justice; et parmi ce lez *partiez* se departiront de court. Quod accordum [13] *audito dicto procuratore nostro super hoc* et consenciente curie nostre placuit et illud approbavit necuo et partibus dedit *licenciam* ut ab ipsa recedant [14] impune. In cuius rei *testimonium nostrum* hijs *presentibus litteris* fecimus apponi sigillum. Datum Parisii in dicto parlamento de consensu dicti [15] nostri et Petri de Hautecuriae, doctor, decani et capituli procurator(is), die XII<sup>mo</sup> decembris anno domini millesimo CCC<sup>o</sup> quinquagesimo secundo.

[On the plica:] P[...] Camani. Lievel. [...]avel

Accordium.

Lecta.

[On the back:] Littera regia *pro arrestum perjurisdictione familiaribus canonicorum. ecclesiae Lauduni qui non fuerant de civitate et pace Lauduni.*

<sup>65</sup> We publish the following document in accordance with the recommendations of École national des chartes (Conseils pour l'édition des textes médiévaux. Fascicule I, conseils généraux / eds P. Bourgain, Fr. Viellard. Paris, 2001). Diacritic is used only when necessary to distinguish between the parts of speech; abbreviations are shown in italics; additions are enclosed in square brackets; unencrypted places are marked with ellipses; punctuation marks are used according to the norms of contemporary French.

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